

Message Text

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ORIGIN SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 R

DRAFTED BY EUR/RPM:DJMCCONNELL/PM:ENEWSOM:MEM
APPROVED BY EUR:JEGOODBY
PM:DGOMPERT
EUR/NE:WNEWLIN
NSC:RBARTHOLOMEW
S/S-O:LRFLE SCHER

-----036333 180327Z /20

O 180103Z MAR 78 ZFF4
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY OSLO NIACT IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS NIACT IMMEDIATE
INFO ALL NATO CAPITALS IMMEDIATE
USMISSION USNATO IMMEDIATE

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EXDIS

E.O. 11652:GDS

TAGS:NATO, MNUC

SUBJECT:ERW: ALLIED CONSULTATIONS

REF: STATE 068555

1. REFTEL DESCRIBES HOW WE HOPE TO SEE THE NAC CONSULTATIONS ON ERW NEXT WEEK PROCEED. THE POSITIONS TAKEN BY THE DUTCH, BELGIANS, AND SCANDINAVIANS WILL BE IMPORTANT IN OBTAINING ALLIANCE SUPPORT FOR THE SYG LUNS SUMMING-UP STATEMENT SUPPORTING OUR THREE-PART APPROACH AS OUTLINED IN THE NAC FEBRUARY 24. WE HOPE THESE COUNTRIES WILL, AT THE LEAST, BE ABLE TO REFRAIN FROM OBJECTING TO THE KIND

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OF SUMMING-UP STATEMENT WE ENVISAGE AS CONTAINED REFTEL. THEIR ACQUIESCENCE MAY BE POSSIBLE IF REPEAT IF

(A) THEY
CAN BE PERSUADED NOT TO MAKE A NATIONAL STATEMENT CONTRADICTING OR OPPOSING THE ALLIANCE CONSENSUS; AND (B) THEY

WEIGH CAREFULLY THE DAMAGE THEIR ISOLATION ON THE ERW ISSUE COULD CAUSE TO ALLIANCE POLITICAL UNITY AND TO IMPORTANT AND NECESSARY MEASURES TO IMPROVE AND MODERNIZE NATO'S DEFENSE AND DETERRENT CAPABILITIES.

2. EMBASSIES OSLO AND BRUSSELS SHOULD THEREFORE CALL ON HIGHEST AVAILABLE MFA OFFICIAL PRIOR TO MARCH 20 NAC AND DRAW ON THE TALKING POINTS IN PARAS 3-11 BELOW TO PRESENT OUR CASE, POINTING OUT THAT THE SUMMING-UP STATEMENT WE ENVISAGE SECRETARY GENERAL LUNS MAKING WOULD BE COUCHED IN SUCH A WAY AS TO EASE, NOT AGGRAVATE, THE POLITICAL PROBLEMS SURROUNDING ERW WHICH GON (GOB) MAY HAVE. (FYI. DEPARTMENT (GOODBY AND GOMPERT) CALLED IN REPRESENTATIVES OF EMBASSIES OF DENMARK, NETHERLANDS, AND NORWAY MARCH 17 TO MAKE SAME POINTS. WE ARE ASKING EMBASSY OSLO TO REPEAT THE DEMARCHE THERE BECAUSE OF SLOW COMMUNICATIONS BETWEEN NORWEGIAN EMBASSY AND OSLO. BELGIANS WERE NOT RPT NOT CALLED IN HERE. END FYI.)

3. BEGIN TALKING POINTS.

AT THE NAC ON MARCH 20 THE UNITED STATES PLANS TO PRESENT ITS THREE-PART APPROACH TO ERW: A US PRODUCTION DECISION, ARMS CONTROL LINKAGE, AND AN EXPRESSION OF ALLIANCE READINESS TO ACCEPT DEPLOYMENT IN 18 TO 24 MONTHS IF THE ARMS CONTROL LINKAGE FAILS.

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4. THE UNITED STATES STRONGLY BELIEVES THAT THE ARMS CONTROL INITIATIVE SHOULD LINK NON-DEPLOYMENT OF ERW TO SOVIET NON-DEPLOYMENT OF THE SS-20, AND URGES THAT YOUR GOVERNMENT SPEAK OUT IN FAVOR OF THIS PROPOSAL AT THE MARCH 20 MEETING.

5. OUR OVERRIDING OBJECTIVE IN DEVELOPING THE THREE-PART APPROACH TO ERW WAS TO DEAL WITH THE POLITICAL ISSUES THAT HAVE BEEN CREATED ABOUT ERW IN A WAY THAT DEMONSTRATES ALLIANCE SOLIDARITY AND RESOLVE, AS WELL AS THE COMMITMENT OF THE ALLIANCE TO SEEK TO ENHANCE WESTERN SECURITY THROUGH APPROPRIATE ARMS CONTROL MEASURES.

6. THE UNITED STATES IS STRONGLY PERSUADED -- AND SO ARE MOST OF THE ALLIES -- THAT THE WORST POSSIBLE OUT-COME OF ALLIANCE CONSIDERATION OF THIS ISSUE WOULD BE TO APPEAR UNCERTAIN, DIVIDED, AND UNABLE TO PROCEED WITH THEATER NUCLEAR FORCE MODERNIZATION IN THE FACE OF A DISTORTED SOVIET PROPAGANDA CAMPAIGN.

7. SINCE THE FEBRUARY 24 NAC MEETING WE HAVE CONCLUDED THAT AN ALLIANCE POSITION ON ERW SUPPORTING THE US ANNOUNCEMENT ON PRODUCTION AND LINKAGE TO THE SS-20, AS WELL AS AN ALLIANCE WILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT DEPLOYMENT OF ERW SHOULD ARMS CONTROL FAIL, SHOULD BE IN THE FORM OF A QUOTE SUMMING-UP STATEMENT UNQUOTE BY SECRETARY GENERAL LUNS, FOLLOWING THE MARCH 22 NAC.

8. WE BELIEVE THAT A SUMMING UP STATEMENT SUPPORTING THE US PROPOSAL IS THE BARE MINIMUM NECESSARY TO MAKE AN ARMS CONTROL PROPOSAL CREDIBLE -- TO CONVINCE THE SOVIETS THAT WE ARE NOT OFFERING TO GIVE UP SOMETHING THAT WE COULD NOT IN ANY CASE, FOR POLITICAL REASONS, DEPLOY TO THE EUROPEAN THEATER.

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9. THEREFORE, THE UNITED STATES BELIEVES IT IS EXTREMELY IMPORTANT THAT THERE BE A CLEAR OUTCOME AT THE MARCH 20 MEETING THAT WILL ENABLE THE SECRETARY GENERAL TO DESCRIBE HOW HE WOULD PROPOSE TO SUM UP THE CONSENSUS AT THE CONCLUSION OF THE MARCH 22 MEETING.

10. THE UNITED STATES BELIEVES THAT IF YOUR GOVERNMENT WERE PUBLICLY TO OPPOSE PART OF THE SUMMING UP STATEMENT THIS WOULD GIVE THE SOVIETS AMPLE REASON TO DISMISS OUR ARMS CONTROL EFFORT OUT OF HAND. RATHER THAN PUTTING THE ERW ISSUE BEHIND US, WE WOULD HAVE PRESENTED OUR ADVERSARY WITH THE OPPORTUNITY TO DRIVE A WEDGE BETWEEN ALLIES BY EXPLOITING PUBLIC CONCERNS.

11. WE WOULD HOPE THAT IN EVALUATING OUR APPROACH, YOUR GOVERNMENT WILL TAKE FULLY INTO ACCOUNT THE DAMAGE THAT COULD OCCUR TO ALLIANCE POLITICAL UNITY AND SECURITY INTERESTS IF IT WERE PUBLICLY TO OPPOSE A SUMMING UP STATEMENT WHICH EXPRESSED SUPPORT FOR THE THREE-PART APPROACH WE HAVE PROPOSED.

END TALKING POINTS.

12. FOR USNATO: TO THE EXTENT POSSIBLE IN THE TIME REMAINING BEFORE THE MARCH 20 MEETING, SUGGEST MISSION MAKE SIMILAR POINTS TO ALL ALLIES AND TAKE INFORMAL SOUNDINGS OF HOW THEY MAY REACT IN THE MARCH 20 MEETING.

13. THE FRG POSITION, AS WE UNDERSTAND IT, IS THAT AFTER MAKING THE CASE FOR AN ER/TANK LINKAGE AT MARCH 20 MEETING, IF NO BROAD SUPPORT FOR THIS APPROACH
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MATERIALIZES, AND THERE IS A CONSENSUS AROUND THE ER/SS-20 LINKAGE, THE FRG WILL JOIN THIS CONSENSUS. THEREFORE,

IT IS MOST IMPORTANT THAT ALL ALLIES, EVEN THOSE WHO MAY HAVE RESERVATIONS ABOUT OTHER ASPECTS OF THE US APPROACH, SPEAK OUT ON MARCH 20 IN SUPPORT OF THE SS-20 LINK IN ORDER TO INFLUENCE THE FRG TO COME OUT FOR THE SS-20 PROPOSAL AT THAT MEETING.

14. FOR OSLO: USNATO 2802 JUST RECEIVED UNDERLINES THE IMPORTANCE OF YOUR DEMARCHE. YOU SHOULD URGE THE GON IN LIGHT OF THE POINTS WE HAVE MADE TO CONSIDER THE POSSIBILITY OF GIVING PERMREP VIBE FLEXIBILITY IN HIS INSTRUCTIONS SO AS NOT RPT NOT TO COME OUT IN OPPOSITION TO OUR PROPOSAL AT THE MARCH 20 MEETING.

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: POLICIES, DISARMAMENT, MEETING AGENDA, ALLIANCE, NUCLEAR WEAPONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 18 mar 1978
Decaption Date: 20 Mar 2014
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978STATE069792
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: DJMCCONNELL/PM:ENEWSOM:MEM
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: GS
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780120-0375
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780351/aaaabrek.tel
Line Count: 192
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: ab9e7cc4-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN SS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: EXDIS
Reference: 78 STATE 68555
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 12 may 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 3282623
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: ERW: ALLIED CONSULTATIONS
TAGS: MNUC, PARM, US, NO, NATO
To: OSLO BRUSSELS
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/ab9e7cc4-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014